

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"Some landlords have continued to grant *leases*; and there will still be some found to do it for a year or two longer perhaps. Habit is very powerful; and, besides, the cause is not well enough understood to prevent all landlords from believing, that a good swinging addition to the old rent will secure them for the next 14 or 21 years. But, if the present system of finance be pursued, this purblind state will soon go off: the consequences of letting leases will become visible to the dullest eyes: and, then, as Mr. Kent, the Surveyor, says, the landlord will, indeed, as soon alienate the fee simple of his estate as demise it for a term of years."—POLITICAL REGISTER, 23th February, 1805.

1601]

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TO THE READERS.

The next Number of the Register will be published next SATURDAY, and, after that, the publication will be continued on the Saturday, as formerly, and not on the WEDNESDAY any more.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NAPOLÉON'S SPEECH.—The Speech of the Emperor of France to the NATIONAL COUNCIL has excited that degree of public attention, which a set speech from a person of such power must naturally excite, especially when, in part at least it relates to ourselves and to that object more particularly, in which we all now feel the most direct interest. I allude to what he says of the war in the Southern Peninsula, of which he speaks in a tone that seems not to have been anticipated by many of our writing or speech-making politicians.—The words are these:—"The English bring all the passions into play. One time they suppose France to have all the designs that could alarm other Powers, designs which she could have put into execution if they had entered into her policy. At another time they make an appeal to the pride of nations in order to excite their jealousy. They lay hold of all circumstances which arise out of the unexpected events of the times in which we live. It is war over every part of the Continent that can alone ensure their prosperity. I wish for nothing that is not in the treaties which I have concluded. I will never sacrifice the blood of my people to interests that are not immediately the interests of my Empire. I flatter myself that the peace of the

"Continent will not be disturbed. The King of Spain is come to assist at this last solemnity. I have given him all that was necessary and proper to unite the interests and hearts of the different people of his provinces. Since 1809, the greater part of the strong places in Spain have been taken after memorable sieges. The insurgents have been beaten in a great number of pitched battles. England has felt that this war was approaching its termination, and that intrigues and gold were no longer sufficient to nourish it. She found herself, therefore, obliged to change the nature of it, and from an *auxiliary* she has become a *principal*. All she has of troops of the line have been sent into the Peninsula. England, Scotland, and Ireland are drained. English blood has at length flowed in torrents, in several actions glorious to the French arms.

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"This conflict against Carthage, which seemed as if it would be decided in fields of battle, on the ocean, or beyond the seas, will henceforth be decided in the plains of Spain! When England shall be exhausted—when she shall at last have felt the evils which for twenty years she has with so much cruelty poured upon the Continent—when half her families shall be in mourning—then shall a peal of thunder put an end to the affairs of the Peninsula, the destinies of her armies, and avenge Europe and Asia by finishing this second Punic war."—There is, as the reader will perceive, a passage left out here, and, as I cannot get at the original, I suppose this passage must have contained something calculated to offend some person in power here, or, perhaps, the

whole administration, or government; it must, I suppose, have contained something *libellous*, but, the reader will please to bear in mind, that the passage might have been *very true* for all that, because, according to the law of libel, in this country, *truth* may be a libel; *truth* may be a *criminal* libel; to write or publish *truth* may be a *crime*, and a *crime*, too, for which a man may suffer years of imprisonment and heavy fines and bails.—Aye, aye; this is even so; there is no denying it; and, therefore, because this part of Napoleon's Speech is suppressed, let us not conclude that it contained any falsehood: nay, let us rather suppose, that it contained some striking but *disagreeable truth*, for such are, of all others, the most odious publications.

—Now, as to what those who publish in England have thought safe to give to their readers, the part that most interests us is that which relates to the war in Spain and Portugal, which war many, in this country, looked upon as touching its close.

—We are not to place implicit reliance on what Napoleon says: we are not to believe that he will act thus, or thus, merely because he says he will: we are to make allowances for big talk; but, with all due caution and all due allowances made, I cannot help considering this part of his speech pretty fully descriptive of his designs and his expectations; and as I so seldom have seen his designs and expectations thwarted and disappointed, I cannot say, that I am disposed to join with my brother Journalists in *laughing* at this speech, in which we are, indeed, told by Napoleon little more, about the war in Spain and Portugal, than I had said before.

—He says, that England could not get on longer with the war without becoming a *principal* in it, which is very true; and, from the moment she did become a *principal*, it was evident, that, if she failed at last, that failure would be much more fatal to her than it could have been, if she had not become a *principal*. As long as she was able to move the Spaniards and Portuguese by mere *pecuniary* aids, the war was, in fact, *theirs*; but, when we began to send *armies*, and to take Portuguese into *our pay*; then the war became *ours*.—

To exhaust England must necessarily be an object of the very first importance to Napoleon; and how could he possibly effect this object by any means so sure as inducing us to make war with him in Spain and Portugal?—If this war end unfavourably, it will be the most fatal war in

which we were *ever* engaged. It will be the *last* blow previous to the attempt upon this kingdom itself.—We are now sending out of this kingdom *men* and *horses* and *food* and *raiment* to an astonishing amount. We have been at this work for nearly three years; and, if we follow it for two or three longer, it is impossible that the consequences should not be dreadful. The able men of the country are drawn away; boys are now enlisted for the service; the country is drained of all that is most precious to it; and if this drain should continue for another year or two, and if we should *fail even then*, the consequence must naturally be a state of debility and discouragement, after which it would be extremely difficult to revive the people, and after which, perhaps, it would be impossible ever again to screw them up to any great exertion.—The idea is, and long has been, that we are fighting the battles of England and Ireland in Portugal and Spain; and the Peninsula has been called the "*outworks* of Ireland." I never liked this idea. It has always had something very frightful in it to me; for, when the *outworks* are taken, we know that the town seldom holds out long; and, it has always appeared to me impossible, that these *outworks* should be defended for any length of time.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD.—LORD STANHOPE.—I have broken off from the above subject to come to one of more importance than that and all other political subjects put together; that subject, which I have before called the ALPHA and OMEGA of politics, in this country; that thing upon which all other things depend.—In the House of Lords, on Thursday, the 27th instant, LORD STANHOPE brought in a Bill for "preventing guineas, half guineas, and seven shilling pieces, from being taken for more than 21s.—10s. 6d. and 7s. respectively, and for preventing Bank Notes from being taken for less than the sums expressed in them." Of this Bill he is reported to have moved the first reading, upon which a debate ensued.—But, this debate I must insert as I find it reported in the Morning Chronicle. I declare this debate to be *immortal*. No human being ever heard the like of it. After lifting up my hands and eyes in admiration at its contents, I have looked at it again, lifted up my hands and eyes again, then looked at it again, and even now, in sending it off to the press, I take

one more look, lest my eyes should have deceived me.—Well, reader, take you a look at it, and when you have so done, pray hear a few observations that I have to offer upon it.—“EARL STANHOPE on introducing the Bill, of which he had given notice, regretted that the subject had not been taken up by Government, as he conceived it to be of the greatest importance. An individual possessed of large landed property had given notice to his tenants that they must at this Midsummer, pay their rents in gold, which was accompanied by an intimation that if they tendered Bank notes, such notes would only be taken in payment at the rate of 16s. in the pound.—For the dreadful oppression upon the tenantry of the country to which the adoption of such a system would lead, it was absolutely necessary to provide some legislative remedy. Supposing a tenant to owe 400*l.* for rent, he would thus be called upon to pay 500*l.* instead of four, and the consequences might spread still further; supposing a banker to owe 400,000*l.* to those who had deposited money with him, how was he to stand if he was to be called upon to pay 500,000*l.* He had consulted *both bankers and professional men of the law*, as to the remedy which he proposed, and *they were all of opinion that it was the right remedy.* The remedy was *simple*, it was merely to render it illegal to receive gold coin for more than their mint value, or to receive bank notes for less than the amount expressed in them. This would prevent the evil which must otherwise arise from the act of injustice to which he had alluded, and which must be aggravated in a still greater degree if the example of injustice thus set should be followed by others. Therefore, however late the period of the session, he thought it absolutely necessary that some step to remedy the evil should be taken now, as when Parliament met again it might be too late. It was also a serious consideration how far the Bank of England might be affected by the adoption of a system similar to the conduct of the individual alluded to; and it was incumbent on the Government to look anxiously to this point. He considered the Bank of England *as the bottom plank* of the ship of England, which if once bored through, the ship itself was placed in a situation of the greatest danger.—His Lordship then alluded to

“some reports respecting him, which had got abroad, and which were utterly false; and after stating that he was solely actuated in the measure he now proposed by public motives, concluded by presenting a Bill for preventing Guineas, Half Guineas, and Seven Shilling Pieces, from being taken for more than 21*s.*—10*s.* 6*d.*—and 7*s.* respectively, and for preventing Bank Notes from being taken for less than the sums expressed in them, of which he moved the first reading.—THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL was perfectly convinced that the Noble Earl was actuated by the best motives in bringing forward this Bill, and so far as he had time to consider the measure, he thought it the best remedy for the grievance complained of, if any remedy were now, or should be necessary. He thought, however, that it was unnecessary at the present moment to make any legislative provision upon this subject, particularly at this late period of the session, when so many persons were absent, not expecting any thing of importance to come on. He admitted, that if it was absolutely necessary to make a legislative provision with reference to this object, that they must proceed in it, however late the period of the session, and whatever might be the inconvenience. He was aware of the case to which the Noble Earl alluded, and knew that the notice had been given by the individual referred to, to his tenants, to pay in gold, and that it was accompanied, not merely by an intimation, but by a notice, that if Bank Notes were tendered, they would only be taken in payment at a depreciated rate. He was of opinion, however, that this *example would not be followed*, nor did he think that the individual alluded to would persist in the demands he had made. It was under this impression, that he thought a sufficient case had not been made out for legislative interference. They might be reduced to adopt the remedy now proposed; but he thought, as there was only the instance of the conduct of one individual, which, he was of opinion, would not be persisted in, that there was not sufficient ground for Parliament to make a legislative enactment. It was in this view of the subject, that he intended, on the motion for the second reading of the bill, to move to postpone it for three months.—THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE thought it was incumbent

“ on the Government to shew that the subjects of the country were protected from injustice by the laws, and that they were not left for protection to the discretion and caprice of individuals. He had stated some time since a similar instance in Ireland, where a landlord had demanded his rents in gold—and as soon afterwards as the post could bring them, he received several anonymous letters, stating several other instances in which a similar demand had been made. —“ THE EARL OF LIMERICK observed, that what had been stated by the Noble Lord (Lauderdale) did not apply to the South of Ireland, as there was not any instance in that part of the country of a landlord making such a demand. —“ THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE, in explanation, said, he had not alluded to the South but to the North of Ireland. —“ THE EARL OF CLANCARTY was anxious to know what part of the North of Ireland, as in the province of Ulster Bank notes were refused to be taken as early as the passing of the Bank Restriction Bill; and as they came gradually into the circulation they were taken in payment in many instances at a discount, but that practice was rapidly declining. —“ THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE was aware of the practice to which the Noble Lord alluded, but he also knew an instance, which he had formerly stated, where a landlord called upon his tenants to pay in gold, and the latter having represented to the steward the impossibility of procuring gold, they were each told that there were 100 guineas at a chandler's shop in the neighbourhood which might be purchased; and it was a fact, that with those 100 guineas, passing from one to another, a rent of 7,000*l.* was actually paid. —“ THE EARL OF CLANCARTY was very desirous of knowing who the party was to whom this circumstance referred. His Lordship then observed upon the *black malignity* which must have actuated the individual who had been referred to in the early part of the debate, as having demanded payment of his rents in gold, or that he would only take Bank notes at a depreciated rate. —“ THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE objected strongly to the terms *black malignity*, contending that the Noble Lord alluded to might have been actuated by the purest patriotism, in determining to force upon the government the consideration of the situation of the country, to which his Majes-

ty's Ministers seem determined to shut their eyes. —“ EARL GROSVENOR said a few words, declining then to enter into the discussion, which would come more regularly on the question on the second reading. —“ THE LORD CHANCELLOR was of opinion, that from all they had heard, there was little danger of the example alluded to being followed by others. He was, however, at a loss to conceive what pure patriotism there could be in the conduct of the individual who had been alluded to. Supposing he owed *£*. 100 to his coach-maker, who was also his tenant, from whom he was to receive *£*. 100 for rent, and he was to pay the debt of *£*. 100 on the Monday, and tell the coach-maker that he would only receive in payment of the rent on the Tuesday, Bank-notes at a depreciated rate, and that therefore he must have *£*. 120 in Bank-notes for his *£*. 100 rent, where would be the pure patriotism of all this? —“ THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE said, he had been misunderstood by the Noble and Learned Lord; he only meant to say that there might be pure patriotism in an individual forcing this subject upon the attention of the Government, who seemed determined to be blind to the real situation of the country. As to the supposition of the coach-maker, he would of course take care to charge so as to make up for the depreciation of the currency in which he was to be paid; but in the case of rent, which was a fixed annual sum, how was loss by the depreciation to be made up? —“ THE LORD CHANCELLOR put the case of a coach-maker having contracted some years since to furnish carriages at a fixed sum, as a similar case to that of rent. He was however, fully convinced, that any individual of landed property who chose to insist upon his rents in gold, or only to take Bank notes at a depreciated rate, would in the balance of account at the end of the year, find himself a loser by his conduct. —“ THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE, in explanation, alluded to the terms ‘*black malignity*’—upon which the Lord Chancellor said he had not alluded to ‘*black malignity*,’ but to pure ‘*patriotism*.’ —“ EARL STANHOPE, in reply, strongly contended that the subjects of the land ought not to have the security of their property rendered dependent upon the caprice or whim of individuals, and that a legislative remedy ought to be provided. It was the whim of some persons,

“and he could only call it a *whim*, to have gold in preference to any other circulating medium. This desire to have gold was founded in ignorance, as there might be a circulating medium without gold perfectly adequate to all the exigencies of the country, and which might be effected by the branches of the Bank of England, and the entries in the Bank-books to which he had alluded on a former night. Gold was only the measure of other things, and was not necessary to circulation.—The Bill was read a first time, and ordered to be printed. —THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL wished the second reading to be moved to-morrow, when he intended to move to postpone it for three months.—EARL STANHOPE declined hurrying the Bill with such rapidity, and thought it possible that the Noble Secretary of State might have a wiser opinion respecting it by Monday.—EARL GROSVENOR having wished to be informed, whether any motion on the Bill was to be made to-morrow,—THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL said he would not do so unusual a thing as to move to postpone the Bill for three months to-morrow, the Noble Earl (Stanhope) having declined to move then the second reading.”—Well, reader, what think you of that? Do you think that the end is not now approaching? I should suppose that even Grizzle Greenhorn sees it as plainly as she can see the nose upon her lover's face.—My Lord STANHOPE says, that he went to Bankers and to men learned in the Law, and they all approved of his *remedy*, which, he said, was very *simple*. Indeed it is; but his lordship need not have gone to Bankers and Lawyers for advice, having so perfect a precedent before him in the *Robespierrean Code*. It is precisely what was done in France in the time of Robespierre; precisely Robespierre's first measure of finance. The Convention finding that their assignats would become good for nothing in a very short time, unless they *compelled* people to take them at par with gold and silver, passed a law making it a crime for any one to give *more* for gold than its nominal value and to take or pass assignats for *less* than their nominal value. No sooner was this law passed than the *whole* of the gold and silver disappeared; totally disappeared; and was, in quick time, followed even by the *copper sous*, though of the basest metal; for, base as they might be, they were still superior in value to *assignats*;

that is to say, the *paper-money*, or *Bank-notes*, of France; for, let not any one lay to his soul the flattering unction, that there is any inherent difference between *Bank-notes* and *assignats*; let no one suppose, that there is any difference in their *nature*; let no one suppose, that there is any thing in the mere *name* that makes a difference in the *thing*.—Well; but, did Robespierre's plan succeed? Oh, yes! to admiration. Nobody violated his law, for it was written in blood; but, those who had any thing to *sell* took care to ask two or three times the former price for it, and, as this rise in prices would naturally go on, the Convention were soon obliged to pass the law of *Maximum*, that is to say, a law prescribing the prices at which things should be sold. The moment this law passed, the streets of Paris flowed with blood. Robespierre, who was a shallow man, thought that his project was practicable, and as he was obstinate and bloody, he resolved to carry it into execution. But, he must have killed all the people in France. It was against nature. It could not be effected.—Yet, monstrous as the law of *Maximum* was, it naturally grew out of the law for equalizing the current value of the money. It was a necessary consequence of that law; for, does any man believe, that, if the holder of a guinea be compelled to *keep* or to *send it abroad*, or to pass it for 21s. worth of a paper which is at 25 per cent. below par; is there any body to believe that such a man will not keep the guinea or send it abroad? All will, all must, become paper immediately, if such a law be passed. There will be no coin seen, of any sort. Old Lord Liverpool's big heavy pennies have disappeared already; and, if this law were passed, even the *brass halfpence* would be hoarded.—The effect of that would be a *rise in all prices*, and that so rapid as to destroy virtually every contract existing between man and man.—Well, but *what is to be done*? Aye, that is a question often put to me, and I always answer: “Go to your ministers! They are paid for taking care of the affairs of the nation. You give them a great deal of money for thinking for you. They are the people for you to look to in your troubles.”—For my part, though I *know* what ought to be done *immediately*, and what will be done *at last*; though I could now point out the way in which the *deliverance of England* might be secured, and which I deem of much more importance

than the deliverance of Europe; though I could do this, I will not do it, and the reason I will not is, that I *dare* not, though what I should recommend would secure both the crown and the people from danger; and though it would be the greatest blessing the nation could experience. For publishing my proposition, I might be called a *sedition libeller*, perhaps, and dealt with accordingly. Therefore, I will not say what I think ought to be done. I have had no hand in producing the danger, and I shall not, therefore, be amongst the first to run any risk for the sake of warding it off.—I have foretold it, and I have been abused and persecuted for foretelling it. The danger is now *at the door*; and let those who abused and persecuted me find out the *remedy*.—We will now take a look at the PARTICULAR ACT, which called forth the proposition of Lord STANHOPE. There is, it seems, some *land-owner*, who has notified to *his tenants*, that, in future, they shall *pay in gold*, or, if not, he will not take bank notes *except at their present value compared with gold*. I happen to be possessed, I believe, of a copy of this notification, which I understand to come *from one of the tenants*. It was brought me *last Sunday*; and I have no doubt of its being genuine.—It is as follows: “By Lease, “dated 1802” (mark the period) “you “have contracted to pay the annual rent “of £.47 5s. in good and lawful money “of Great Britain. In consequence of “the late great depreciation of paper- “money, I can no longer accept any “Bank-notes, at their nominal value, in “payment or satisfaction of an *old con- “tract*. I must therefore desire you to “provide for the payment of your rent in “the legal gold coin of the realm. At “the same time, having no other object “than to secure payment of the real in- “trinsic value of the sum stipulated by “agreement, and being desirous to avoid “giving you any unnecessary trouble, I “shall be willing to receive payment in “either of the manners following accord- “ing to your option.—1st, By payment “in Guineas;—2nd, if Guineas cannot “be procured, by a payment in Portugal “Gold coin, equal in weight to the num- “bers of Guineas requisite to discharge “the rent;—3rd, by a payment in Bank- “paper of a sum sufficient to purchase (at “the present market price) the weight of “standard Gold requisite to discharge the “rent.—The alteration of the value of the

“Paper-money is estimated in this man- “ner; the price of Gold in 1802, the “year of your agreement, was £.4 an “ounce. The present market price is “£.4 14s. arising from the diminished “value of Paper; in that proportion an “addition of £.17 10s. per cent. in Paper- “money will be required as the equiva- “lent, for the payment of rent in paper.”

—Such is the notification of their land- owner’s intention; and, I am fully per- suaded, that the thing is of more import- ance to England than could be 50 battles fought with Buonaparté. The fate of Spain and Portugal and the Baltic and Sicily; what is it to compare to this, which marks out to the government of England what is going to happen, what must arrive soon or late, and what will af- fect the interests and the very existence of every man in England?—The author of this notification is, in the report of the debate, said to have been actuated by *black malignity*, and, in another part of it, it is said that *ignorance* alone can induce a man to prefer gold to paper. Now, if this be so, I must confess myself chargeable with black malignity and with ignorance, see- ing that, I only want the *means*, having the *will*, to do precisely what this nobleman has done, except, perhaps, that I should have gone farther, and insisted upon my rents in guineas, and guineas only; and, in so doing, I should have thought myself acting, not only a just, but a *patriotic* part, and should have consoled myself, under present censure, with the certainty of re- ceiving, in a short time, the thanks of all that part of the nation, whose gains do not wholly proceed from the system of paper. —This land-owner, who, I believe, is LORD KING, and, if I am in error, I am quite sure his lordship will pardon me, and have the goodness to enable me to correct my error next week; this land- owner, or, to use the name, LORD KING, let his farms, or, at least, the particular farm alluded to in the notification, in the year 1802, when *four* one pound bank notes would buy *an ounce of gold*; but now the bank notes are become so much less valuable than they were then, that it re- quires *four one pound notes and fourteen shil- lings* to get an ounce of gold; and, conse- quently, unless Lord King gets a greater quantity of Bank notes for the same amount of rent than he used to take in 1802, he will lose 14s. in every £.4, which is 3s. 6d. in the pound, or £.17 10s. in every hundred pounds.—Is it right,

that he should suffer this loss? What reason is there for it? Is it right that the Directors and Company of the Bank should be protected against the demands of their creditors, issue out as much paper as they please, and *pocket the profits*, and that LORD KING should be losing his income daily from that cause?—Oh, no! says the Lord Chancellor, he is *not losing any income*; for, he gives the £. 100 to his coach-maker, just in the same notes that he takes from his tenant. The hundred pounds is *still a hundred pounds*: and, if it will go for a hundred, what does LORD KING lose in taking it for a hundred?—But, my good Lord ELDON, do you suppose, that the coachmaker will not *raise his price* to meet the depreciation of money? This was asked, it seems, by Lord LAUDERDALE; and the Lord Chancellor answered, that he supposed the case of a coachmaker *under contract to furnish carriages and work at a fixed price!* Very good! Very good! Quite conclusive. But, how did any one know, that Lord King had a *contract* with his coachmaker and that it was made so long ago as 1802? For, to make the supposition worth any thing, even as a mere supposition, the *contract* must have been made at the same time that the *Leases* were made.—Well; but what is the coachmaker? LORD KING must eat, drink, and dress, and is it to be supposed, that he is supplied by *contract* with the eatables and drinkables and wearing apparel for his family? Is it supposed that he has his servants by *contract*, his men and his maidens by *contract*? And, observe, the contracts must have been made, too, in 1802. He gets the same *nominal sum* from his tenant NOKES, for instance, as he got from him in 1802; but this same sum will not now buy him so much bread or meat or wine or wages as it would buy him in 1802. So that Lord KING does, in fact, daily become poorer and poorer, and farmer NOKES becomes daily richer and richer; and, of this those who reprobate the conduct of Lord KING may be well assured, that, if his *example* is *not* followed, the farms will in a very little time, *change owners*, if he may be called the owner who receives all the *benefit* of the thing. The House of Lords will, I think, *reflect* a little upon the *consequences*, to which the doctrine of the 27th of June may lead. I think they will have good reason to reflect on and long to *remember* that doctrine. Lord LIVERPOOL said, that he did not believe the in-

dividual alluded to, *would find any body to follow his example, or would persevere in what he had begun.*—If Lord Liverpool saw this matter in the light in which I see it, he would startle at these words having been promulgated. They convey the idea, that the *example was bad*, and that the person who had begun the thing *would not dare to go on.* And, my Lord STANHOPE by way of enforcing his arguments in favour of his Bill, reminded the House of the recent opposition to the Dissenters' Bill, and having asked, why the Dissenters made such effectual opposition, he said:—"Because they were in the habit of meeting together statedly; and the alarm flew through them all like a shock of electricity! The Farmers likewise met *statedly* at every market-town in the kingdom; and if they felt *such injuries* as he contemplated, the same spirit would be shewn, and they would *express strongly* and *boldly* what they felt severely. He considered his remedy as easy as the evil was alarming. He concluded by *presenting his Bill.*"—Really, I am quite thunderstruck at reading this, and especially at seeing the notion adopted. I have been called a *Jacobin* and a *Leveller*, and I have much less veneration for title and family than many other people have; but, I should have hesitated very long before I adopted notions like these; which, as I said before, do really seem to have been generally adopted. What! are the farmers to come *boldly* forward and complain of their landlords for demanding their rent? Are the landlords, let the paper depreciate to whatever degree it may, still to be compelled to take the nominal sum that they now take? Is Lord KING still to take the same nominal sum from farmer NOKES, when the paper shall have fallen to 10s. in the pound? Aye, when to 5s. in the pound, or 6d. in the pound? If so, the land may *change masters* in the quietest manner possible. We have heard a great deal about *revolutions*, and about the horrors of revolution; but what thinks the reader of this sort of revolution? And, if landlords are to be *stigmatized as cruel* for demanding their rents in the standard existing at the date of the contract, what landlord will have the courage to do it? Thus, then, the thing will go on, as far as *leases* now exist; for, as to *stopping* with this doctrine in his face, what landlord will do that? There is no stopping, unless you stop now; and, if any man has now twenty thousand pounds a

year arising out of leases from two to ten years old, he may see himself in the receipt of what will buy him a *twentieth* part of what he now annually spends or lays by, which must be a great comfort to him, and more especially to his children, whose fortunes will have all passed away to the children of his tenants. — What are “the injuries” of which Lord STANHOPE seems to think the *farmers* would have to complain, if Landlords acted upon the rule of Lord KING? All that Lord KING wants of his tenants is to pay him as much *now* as they *agreed* to pay him when they took their farms. And, can this be called an *injury*? If I had a tenant, who had but a year to continue in his farm, I would make him pay in guineas, or I would have the worth of those guineas, taking the gold at £. 3. 17s. 10d. an ounce; this I should think perfectly just; and should not be at all afraid to meet the charge of having done an *injury* to my tenant. — If Lord KING persevere, others will follow his example, and an *equitable* and *peaceable* arrangement between landlord and tenant may become general through the country; but, if Lord KING do not persevere; if he give way in consequence of what has been said against his conduct, it requires no conjuration to foresee the consequences. It is a matter of much too general and deep interest to pass unnoticed. There is not a farmer nor any *tenant* of any sort, who will not notice what has now passed in the House of Lords, where, from the whole tenor of the debate, it appears, that the conduct of LORD KING was deserving of *censure*. The people will keep their eyes fixed upon him. Every *tenant* in the kingdom will have his eye upon LORD KING, in whose single person *the fate of all landlords will be decided*. — “But,” some of your *hoping* gentry will say, “why did he *stir* the thing?” Why tell your friend that he has a mortification begun in his finger point? Why not let it go on; why not disguise the disagreeable truth from him, till the destructive principle reach his armpit and descend to his heart? The paper money is under an impulse as regular as that of a mortification. The progress of depreciation may be *accelerated*; but, no earthly power can *stop* it; and, the main consequences of it must finally be what they always have been in similar cases. They may be *mitigated*; and they would be by measures such as LORD KING

is adopting; but, wholly prevented they cannot be. If LORD KING’s example were to be followed, tenants might quietly fall into the measure now; it might become a general custom to make up in additional nominal sum what had been lost by depreciation, and thus the contract might be kept on both sides. If this were once customary, the paper might go on depreciating without producing any very sensible injury; or, at least, without a *shock*; but, if it do go on depreciating, it is very clear, that landlords must make a stand sooner or later, or give all quietly up; and, if they make a stand at all, certainly the *sooner* it is done the better, because every year will add strength to the tenant’s motives for objecting to pay in the standard of the contract. His lordship has, in fact, made an effort to preserve the estates of the nobility from being wholly swallowed up, and he must, for this effort, expect to be called a *Jacobin* and a *Leveller*, and to have all sorts of malignant motives imputed to him by the whole tribe of venal writers, who though they know no more of the matter than the quills with which they write, will not fail to express, with great gravity, their regret that so amiable and excellent a young nobleman should have been induced to do an act so injurious to the credit of the country. — There is one expression of LORD STANHOPE that I must yet notice; namely, that the Bank was the *bottom plank* of the Ship *England*. I have been on board of ship; and when I bring my mind back to the scene; imagine myself looking over the side and seeing the moon and stars at apparently ten thousand miles down in the water; when I take this awful object into my mind, and suppose that the *bottom plank* is to the real ship what I look upon the Bank to be to the Ship *England*; when I thus fancy myself, I can scarcely help exclaiming: “God preserve my poor Widow and Children.” — The *bottom plank*, my lord! The bottom plank of *England*! What! that Bank that stopped paying gold and silver, and was propped by an act of indemnity; and which has never paid in gold and silver since that time. — But, enough for the present. There will, doubtless, be more said upon the subject, and, of course, it will be necessary for me to return to it.

W^m. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate,
Friday, 28th June, 1811.

TO THE MARQUIS OF TAVISTOCK.

Letter II.

June 22, 1811.

My Lord; In the eyes of some, it will be an ill omen, that a correction of the *borough system* should be taken up by the heir to *borough property*; by the next in succession to a noble house that hath a direct interest in *that system*; and when they observe the *mode* he has chalked out to himself, their forebodings may receive a strong confirmation.

But, my Lord, I feel strong in hope; and from three considerations. That person is young; he has the reputation of talent and a virtuous disposition; and he is a RUSSELL. He is, indeed, the son of a nobleman, who, only six years ago, wrote to me as follows:—"I should be ashamed to give support to any set of men who did not feel the necessity of a radical amendment in the *whole system* of our government. The *source* of our evils is an inadequate, defective representation of the people in parliament, and until that source is *cut off*, in my humble judgment, abuse and corruption will never cease to flow in a thousand different channels.

"I hope and trust the day is not far distant, when that most desirable event, a *substantial and radical* reform in the representation of the people may be brought to bear: In the mean time, let them see the extent of their grievances, let them know whence they arise, and let them coolly and dispassionately form their own judgments upon the *best and surest remedy*: It is at hand, *simple*, and of *easy attainment*."

With these words engraven on the heart of the son, he will doubtless enter on a *comparison* of remedies; and of course prefer that which is "*best and surest*;" "*simple*, and of *easy attainment*."

In stating the *youth* of this person as one ground of my hope, I am well satisfied; since the error, as I esteem it, of a first intimation, is in a young man very excusable, when that error is even sanctioned by the grave opinions of much older persons, who, in leaning rather to partial and progressive reform, than to that which is to be at once achieved, ought not to be suspected of any sinister design. But as all error, where there is free discussion, must, in time, yield to the force of truth, we need be in no pain for what will ultimately be the *public opinion*.

Where talent and virtue are combined with youth, we may expect ardour of inquiry, an ingenious love of truth, a quick discernment of what is right and honest, and such an inflexible adherence to the public interest, when once discovered, as shall become the descendant of patriot ancestors.

If, then, such a young nobleman—if a RUSSELL of this description, while standing forward as a Parliamentary Reformer, shall be conscious of having a personal interest in that *borough system* which is "*the source of our evils*," we know the rigid justice which his high sense of honour will dictate—we know the unsparing severity with which he will be ready to "*cut off*" that "*source of our evils*;"—we know that rather than incur the suspicion of a base action, rather than be thought to play off any manœuvre for baffling "*substantial and radical reform*," he would be led to the scaffold, and there pour out the blood he derives from one who died for his country!

My Lord! a young man of your rank and expectations, unless he make himself an austere recluse, must be continually coming in contact with sycophants, beardless and hoary, who, for some sordid interest of their own, through ignorance or want of principle, or from that natural desire of the base to bring down to their own level all superiority of character, will be for ever striving to undermine his virtue, to warp him from rectitude, and to poison his mind in favour of prevalent corruptions.

It has, I presume, been from some such quarter, that you were counselled to announce to us another statute, in addition to the useless lumber already on our shelves, "*for preventing the expence of elections*;" but, at the same time, to be silent on that prominent feature of oligarchical usurpation, the *close borough*, "*in the quiet possession of a single great family*."

Fall not, my Lord, into this snare. Give to this suspicious counsel a serious reconsideration. Ere you meddle with the vital question, study, my Lord, in all its parts, the beautiful, the interesting science of *representation*. Make not, in a first adventure, shipwreck of your youthful fame. Let no counsel induce you to trifle with *public opinion*. Shun, as you would shun a pestilence, the fatal error of

appearing on the course, or of starting from the goal, in the motly garb of mock reform!

Thus to make a fruitless bustle about one of the petty *effects*, instead of striking at the *causes* of the whole;—thus to clap a plaister on an external sore, while all is rottenness within; were not the conduct of an enlightened physician, a wise legislator, a practical statesman. “The *source* of our evils must be *cut off*,” or we perish. Let these words of your father never be absent from your mind! Inscribe them on an ægis to be worn on your breast, that the treacheries, and plausible delusions of evil counsellors may find no entrance!

And you have undertaken, it seems, to move for “the repeal of the *septennial* “act;” or, in other words, to give us back parliaments of *three years continuance*.

Allow an aged pilot to warn you against splitting on this rock. Permit time to repeat what he said but last year, on a similar occasion.

In respect of *triennial* parliaments, we shall soon see Mr. ———’s double ignorance;—his ignorance both of the constitution, and of the historical facts to be found in the statute books and in the parliamentary proceedings. “The power,” says this gentleman, “of dissolving parliaments, is a *prerogative* essential to the “safety of the crown, and to the existence of the constitution.”—“The prerogative itself cannot be taken away; “but it may be reduced within the bounds “which the constitution *originally* set it.”

Here I imagined I was coming to a *principle*; or to something at least like evidence of a rational limitation of this pretended prerogative; but how was I both disappointed and surprised on finding the sentence close thus:—“by restoring parliament to their *right duration* of *three years*.”

Here is double ignorance with a witness! unless it be something else I shall not name. *Triennial* is becoming again a convenient watch-word: its former good service is kept in remembrance. It is not, however, as some foolishly fancy, that the *borough faction* are acting upon the maxim, that half a loaf of usurpation is better than no bread. No; for they well know, and they have both reason and experience for their guides, that a parliament of *three years continuance*, with a little tinkering in the Scotch counties, would only give their corruption more

density, as the *pruning* the tips of a yew hedge by the shears, makes it more compact.

The present revival of the word *triennial*, is but a mere echo of the delusive chaunting of the *faction* thirty years ago. When at that period a call for parliamentary reform began to create alarm, the faction, knowing there are persons, even among men of education, weak enough to entertain the notion, that merely to allow parliaments a duration of only *three* years instead of *seven*, would be a *reform*, instantly throw out the lure of a *triennial* parliament. In 1780, the deputies of the associated counties, cities, and towns, declared in their memorial, that “annual “parliaments are the ancient constitution “of England, and the birth-right of Englishmen.” It was also by them “Resolved, that it be recommended to our “several Committees to adopt the following propositions, as parts of their general plan of union and association,” and one of them was, “That the members of “the House of Commons be *annually* “elected to serve in parliament *.”

The *borough faction* was alarmed. Its resource was, to make us believe it acceded to *moderate reform*, while it meant nothing less than to hold fast its despotic grasp of the nation’s purse strings. Although with the deputies (among whom I had the honour to sit) it failed in its attempt to strangle at its birth the Resolution in favour of *annual* parliaments; yet, no sooner had the deputies of Yorkshire set foot again in their own county, than the “baffling” lure of a *triennial* parliament, as the condition of a great alliance, was held out to them, and the bait was unhappily swallowed.

Although considerable dissatisfaction hereupon ensued among the *constitutional* reformers, yet they did not “disclaim all “intercourse and association” with their mistaken brethren; and, in 1782, Mr. Pitt’s motion for a Committee was lost by only *twenty* votes, and that by an accident;—yes, by an *accident*—a mere accident—that of the Marquis of Rockingham, then prime minister, (as his secretary, Mr. King, who, I believe, is now alive, the next morning informed me) *forgetting* the day of a discussion, on which was rivited the anxious attention of the whole kingdom!!!

But, so it was; the prime minister,

* Wyvill Papers, I. p. 120. 434

forgetting the day of the discussion, forgot to give the customary summons to his friends, and the question was lost by twenty votes only. This faculty of forgetting is one of those which makes man's nature a riddle; for it was at the time currently reported, and generally believed, that the absence from the debate of Mr. Burke, whose red-hot enmity to the reform, and whose snorting scorn of every thing built on human rights, were well known, was at the earnest entreaty of his patron the Marquis, who felt that any opposition by his dependent would of course have been laid at his own door. He, therefore, did not forget to keep Burke away, although he did forget to send his more obsequious partizans; and Burke, whose temper was sufficiently ungovernable, did submit to fall in with his patron's policy *."

In another part of the essay here quoted, it was also said—"It may be said of the factions, as of false prophets,—by their works ye shall know them. If we ask a statesman for the bread of the constitution, shall he give us the stone of the close boroughs? or the garbage of those which are open to the highest bidder?—If we call for a brother's aid to avert from us the dire contents of seven phials of wrath, shall that brother be the person to pour out upon our heads three of those blistering plagues, and gravely call it our medicine?"

When to an option between two experienced curses we must submit, we, of course prefer the least; but, to choose, to propose, to canvas for a curse, and, because of its being merely less in degree than another of its kind, to call it a blessing—what, in God's name is this, but party infection, historical ignorance, or pitiable infatuation! Even by those well-wishers who have neither consulted history, nor reason, nor the constitution of their country, a triennial parliament, one would think, might be rightly appreciated from this striking fact, that, on the very first apprehension of reform in the late session from Mr. Brand's motion in the House of Commons, a triennial parliament was spontaneously offered by an avowed enemy, Lord Milton, who declares himself averse to "any steps which might lead in the remotest degree to a reform in parliament." He yet officially offers you a triennial parliament; telling you he considers it as mere "regulation," not "reformation."

* The Comparison, p. 41.

This young Lord had, no doubt, been instructed by those who knew, that, before he was born, a similar offer had done good service, in dividing reformers and defeating reform; and who also knew the truth of the words they had put into his mouth, that, in a triennial parliament there would be no reformation *."

I have been the more full, my Lord, in these quotations, because they are explanatory of a duplicity which has so repeatedly been practised by Whigs of rank and influence, as to have brought Whig patriotism into proverbial disrepute.

More, my Lord, in the way of warning against this rock of a parliament of three years continuance may be found not only in the same treatise, p. 43, but likewise in *An Appeal, Civil and Military, on the subject of the English Constitution*, p. 33; and in *The People's Barrier*, p. 59. 139, 140; as well as in a *Detection of the Parliaments of England*, vol. i. p. 121. Besides which, I would beg leave to refer you to the Protest entered on the Journals of the House of Lords on the 18th of December, 1694, in consequence of the passing of what we now call the Triennial Act; being the first statute which allowed one and the same parliament to have three years continuance; for the acts of Charles the First and Charles the Second, called triennial, were for a different purpose; namely, to prevent an intermission of parliaments for more than three years at a time.

Having now, my Lord, touched on the two particular topics to which your parliamentary notices related; meaning, henceforth, as much as possible, to shun detail; arguing such points only as, in a thirty years discussion, are not already well settled; and purposing to keep my word, in confining these Letters to a short series; I proceed to consider what are the best means of obtaining that substantial Representation of the People which ought to be the object of every parliamentary Reformist, as being all that is wanting to a complete restoration of the constitution.

In thus reasoning with your Lordship, I shall, of course, consider you as a man of honour, who assumes the character of Reformist with perfect sincerity; as one who has no mental reservation in favour of a private illegitimate interest, to the prejudice of the public good; one who, being ready to sacrifice any such illegitimate

* The Comparison, p. 5.

interest, view as I do, any confederacy of selfish persons, who violate the nation's Right of representation, as a *combined enemy*.

But when I speak of sacrificing an *illegitimate* interest to the public good, ought I not rather to say an imaginary interest, a name, a shadow, a non-entity; that which, when brought to the test of a correct valuation, is, like the balance of a fraudulent bankrupt, a something which is not only worse than nothing, but an opprobrium, and a foul blot in the scutcheon of nobility!

A Duke of Bedford, or a Duke of Norfolk, must be a wretched accountant, if he cannot see that, by an entire surrender of all rotten-borough patronage and a complete restoration of the constitution, he would be a great gainer; having far more intrinsic power, and honour, and respect in the state, and a more extensive influence in the management of its affairs, than, in the present dregs of a destroyed constitution, and in the filthy scramble of the unprincipled for the spoils of a pillaged people, he can by any traffic in votes, or any factious coalition, secure to his own share.

I shall, in my next, my Lord, proceed to the consideration of *means*, and, in the mean while, I am your's, &c. &c.

J. CARTWRIGHT.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SPAIN.—*The Council of Regency to the Spanish Nation, on the Anniversary of May 2.*

(Concluded from page 1600.)

..... What are you now? At the solemn voice of your Representatives, in Cortes assembled, the imperishable rights of the people are revived, which despotism had usurped; arbitrary government has disappeared, by the three powers being no longer confounded in one; the political balance is re-established; the liberty of thought is secured by that of the press; the execution of justice is at this moment founding on the eternal basis of natural equity; and the constitution which is preparing for you, will be the key-stone of that grand arch, on which the throne of the re-organised monarchy will be erected.—Thus the Spaniard of the present day, dependent upon the law alone, inviolable in his person, his property, and the just freedom of his opinions; contributing to such taxes only as are imposed by the National

Congress; interposing by himself, or by persons enjoying his confidence, in the collection and application of such sacrifices; having all the paths of knowledge, of glory, and of fortune, opened to his activity and industry,—marches proudly on the face of the earth, in no respect inferior to its potentates in social dignity. In vain will you search for his equal on the continent, where the iron rod of oppression holds men degraded, and where all are his inferiors. You must search for his equals in that island alone, his generous ally and heroic compeer in this great contest: in that island, the happy sanctuary of liberty, the grand seat of laws, and the eternal model of human civilization.—Such is, such ought to be, the Spaniard under the reign of law. O you live under its benign influence, convey yourselves in thought to the provinces oppressed by the enemy, and compare your situation with that of those who are there groaning in sorrow! Behold them tyrannized over by the chiefs, insulted by the subalterns, pillaged by the tax-gatherers: Behold them harrassed by spies, assailed by suspicions, ruined by accusations; without security, without confidence, without civil or political consideration. Then will you feel how much more the rapacity of tyrants costs than the defence of your country, and the preservation of good laws. — Whatever blessings social order confers upon man, these the Spanish citizen has either in prospect or in possession. One impediment alone prevents us from enjoying them in all their extent, and that impediment is war;—a war just, necessary, unavoidable. Has it been declared by the pride or the private interests of a despot, by the caprice of a favourite, or through the exaggerated declamations of an ambitious demagogue? No: all Spaniards have voted it in a manner the most unanimous and solemn; all have hastened to revenge the greatest outrages which ever were offered to any nation; and to defend the first blessings of a great people—their independence. All the authorities which have been hitherto established—all the systems of government which have succeeded each other,—have they not all been for maintaining the struggle? Has any one of them talked of peace? — Spaniards, you have demanded war; and the war is in the mean time a continued and painful series of dangers, of alarms, of fatigues and of privations. But if indivi-

duals sink under the rigours of adversity, powerful nations never perish; and our's will know how to imitate the magnificent example of the 2nd of May, as it has followed it hitherto without turning aside for a moment. Yes, Spaniards, since the 2nd of May has again dawned upon our eyes, and finds us struggling with the same inflexibility as at first; let us, on it, proudly repeat to the slaves of Buonaparté, that the tyrant was most bitterly deceived in his calculations at Bayonne. The innocents sacrificed at Madrid could not plunge us into the stupor of terror. By them began a war which perhaps shall last for ages. Thousands upon thousands of warriors shall be immolated to our vengeance. What, though discipline and military skill may give them victories!—their fate shall not on that account be better in this terrible country. Conquerors or conquered—to day in small numbers, to-morrow in greater—as many as pass the Pyrenees shall, sooner or later, accompany the three hundred thousand victims whom we have already offered as a holocaust to the manes of those who fell on the 2nd of May; and Spain, like the gulph of eternity, shall receive the French on her bosom, and shall not permit one of them to escape from it.

PEDRO DE AGAR, President.

MANUEL JOSE QUINTANA, Sec.

FRANCE.—*Speech of Buonaparté to the Legislative Body.—Paris, June 16.*

This day, the 16th, the Emperor proceeded from the palace of the Thuilleries in great state, to the palace of the Legislative Body. Discharges of artillery announced his departure from the Thuilleries, and his arrival at the palace of the Legislative Body.

The Empress, Queen Hortense, Princess Pauline, the Grand Duke of Wurtzburg, and the Grand Duke of Frankfort, were in one Tribune; the Corps Diplomatique in another Tribune; the Bishops convoked for the Council, and the Mayors and Deputies of the Good Cities, summoned to be present at the Baptism of the King of Rome, were on benches.

His Majesty placed himself on his throne. The King of Westphalia, the Princes, Grand Dignitaries, Grand Eagles of the Legion of Honour, occupied their accustomed places about his Majesty, Prince Jerome Napoleon on his right.

After the new Members had been pre-

sented, and taken the oaths, the Emperor made the following Speech:

“Gentlemen Deputies of Departments to the Legislative Body,

“The Peace concluded with the Emperor of Austria has been since cemented by the happy alliance I have contracted: the birth of the King of Rome has fulfilled my wishes, and satisfies my people with respect to the future.

“The affairs of religion have been too often mixed in and sacrificed to the interests of a state of the third order. If half Europe have separated from the Church of Rome, we may attribute it specially to the contradiction which has never ceased to exist between the truths and the principals of religion which belong to the whole universe, and the pretensions and interests which regarded only a very small corner of Italy. I have put an end to this scandal for ever. I have united Rome to the Empire—I have given palaces to the Popes at Rome and at Paris; if they have at heart the interest of religion, they will often sojourn in the centre of the affairs of Christianity.—It was thus that St. Peter preferred Rome to an abode even in the Holy Land.

“Holland has been united to the Empire; she is but an emanation of it—without her, the Empire would not be complete.

“The principles adopted by the English Government, not to recognize the neutrality of any flag, have obliged me to possess myself of the mouths of the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, and have rendered an interior communication with the Baltic indispensable to me. It is not my territory that I wished to increase, but my maritime means.

“America is making efforts to cause the freedom of her flag to be recognized—I will second her.

“I have nothing but praises to give to the Sovereigns of the Confederation of the Rhine.

“The union of the Valais had been foreseen ever since the act of Mediation, and considered as necessary to conciliate the interests of Switzerland with the interests of France and Italy.

“The English bring all the passions into play. One time they suppose France to have all the designs that could alarm other powers—designs which she could have put in execution if they had entered into her policy. At another time they make an appeal to the pride of na-

tions in order to excite their jealousy. They lay hold of all circumstances which arise out of the unexpected events of the times in which we are—It is war over every part of the Continent that can alone ensure their prosperity. I wish for nothing that is not in the treaties I have concluded. I will never sacrifice the blood of my people to interests that are not immediately the interests of my Empire—I flatter myself that the peace of the Continent will not be disturbed.

“The King of Spain has come to assist at this last solemnity—I have given him all that was necessary and proper to unite the interests and hearts of the different people of his provinces. Since 1809 the greater part of the strong places in Spain have been taken after memorable sieges. The insurgents have been beat in a great number of pitched battles. England has felt that this war was approaching its termination, and that intrigues and gold were no longer sufficient to nourish it. She found herself therefore obliged to change the nature of it, and from an auxiliary she has become a principal. All she has of troops of the line have been sent into the Peninsula. England, Scotland, and Ireland are drained—English blood has at length flowed in torrents, in several actions glorious to the French arms. * *

* * * * * This conflict against Carthage, which seemed as if it would be decided in fields of battle on the ocean, or beyond the seas, will henceforth be decided on the plains of Spain! When England shall be exhausted—when she shall at last have felt the evils which for twenty years she has with so much cruelty poured upon the Continent, when half her families shall be in mourning, then shall a peal of thunder put an end to the affairs of the Peninsula, the destinies of her armies, and avenge Europe and Asia by finishing this second Punic war.

“Gentlemen Deputies of Departments to the Legislative Body.

“I have ordered my Minister to lay before you the Accounts of 1809 and 1810. It is the object for which I have called you together. You will see in them the prosperous state of my finances—Though I have placed within three months 100 millions extraordinary at the disposal of my Ministers of War, to defray the expences of new armaments which then appeared necessary, I find myself in the fortunate situation of not having any new

taxes to impose upon my people—I shall not increase any tax—I have no want of any augmentation in the impost.”

The sitting being terminated, his Majesty rose and retired amidst acclamations.

FRANCE—*First Sitting of the French National Council.*

The first Sitting of the National Council was this day celebrated according to the ancient forms prescribed by the usages and canons of the Church. The Catholic Religion possesses no ceremony more affecting, or more august. We regret that we are unable to give more than a faint idea of it in the narrow limits to which our account must be confined. At seven in the morning the doors of the Metropolitan Church of Paris were thrown open to the public—the body of the Church and the aisles were in a moment filled with those who assisted at the ceremony, among whom we noticed a number of French and Foreign Ministers, and a great many other persons of distinction. At nine, the Fathers of the Council passed out from the Archbishop's Palace, and moved on in procession to Notre-Dame. The procession marched in the following order: First, the Swiss Guards, and the Officers of the Church; the Cross; the Masters of the Ceremonies; the Incense-bearers; the Choristers; the Ecclesiastics of the second rank; the Officers of the Council; the Metropolitan Chapter, which was to receive the council at the principal entrance of the church; the Fathers of the Council, all in their capes and mitres, with the scarf, the cross, the gremial, and the mitre of the Bishop who was to celebrate the High Mass, carried by Canons; four Deacons and four Sub-Deacons in their surplices (*en chasuble*); two assistant Bishops; the Celebrant, in his pontifical garb. His Eminence, Cardinal Fesch, Archbishop of Lyons, Primate of the Gallican Church, is the President of the Council.—The Fathers were ranged in the choir on the seats which had been provided for them, having hassocks before them, and some small benches for the assistant Priests. The Metropolitan Clergy and the Rectors of Paris occupied one side of the Sanctuary. After the Gospel-Lesson, the officiating Sub-Deacon carried the book opened to the Celebrant, and to the Fathers, for them to kiss. This ceremony finished, M. de Boulogne, Bishop of Troyes, ascended the pulpit. His discourse produced the

most lively impression. Many passages, above all, his peroration, appeared models of the most sublime eloquence. The Orator had chosen for his theme, *the influence of the Catholic Religion on social order*. He evinced that the Catholic Religion is the strongest cement of States, by the force of its tenets, by the nature of its worship, and by the ministry of its Pastors.—The Cardinal, who was the Celebrant, now proceeded to the high Mass. At the second elevation, all the Bishops gave each other mutually the kiss of peace. After this, they moved two by two to the Communion, and received the Sacrament from the hand of the Celebrant.—After Mass, different prayers were recited, invoking the illumination of the Holy Ghost, and these were ended by the Hymn, *Veni Creator*.—The Cardinal Celebrant prayed successively for the Pope, the Emperor, and for the Council.—(N. B. *It is thus pointed in the original.*)—The Episcopal Secretaries of the Council then approaching the Celebrant saluted him, and likewise the Fathers who received from their hands the Decrees, which were to be made public in this Sitting. One of them (M. the Bishop of Nantes) mounted the pulpit, and proclaimed in Latin the Decree for opening of the Council,—Here follows the translation:—"Most illustrious and very reverend Seigneur—Most reverend Father, may it please you, for the honour and glory of the Holy and undivided Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for the increase of the exaltation of the faith of the Christian Religion, for the peace and union of the Church, to decree and declare that the National Council has commenced." Then the Cardinal, the Celebrant, and President said, "The Decree has pleased the Fathers: in consequence, we declare that the National Council is formed."

The *Te Deum* was then chanted, after which a new Decree was made public, on the manner of conducting themselves in the Council—*de modo vivendi in Concilio*. The muster-roll of the Fathers names was then called over, to which each in his turn answered—*Ad sum. (Here I am.)* The suffrages having been collected in the usual form, the President proclaimed a Decree on the Profession of Faith. All the Members made the Profession individually, and thus ended the first Sitting.

SPAIN.—Intelligence from the French Armies.—Siege of Tarragona.

General Suchet, Commander in Chief of the army of Arragon, marched the latter end of April upon Tarragona. On the 3d of May the enemy was compelled to re-enter that fortress. On the 4th the investment was complete to the sea. General Salme, with the 7th and 16th regiments of the line, most gallantly obtained possession of two entrenchments, defended with great obstinacy by the enemy before Fort Olivia. The Italian division carried, at the same time, the entrenched post of Loretta, and an enclosed redoubt near the road from Barcelona. The General in Chief cut off the Aqueduct, which furnished the town with water.—We reconnoitred the place and Fort Olivia. This important work, constructed upon a rock 400 toises distant from the place, is the result of painful toils.—The Spaniards laboured three years, and expended more than 7,000,000 upon it. It presents 60 embrasures, and an extent of 800 toises.—On the 5th the enemy attempted four successive sorties; Salme's brigade drove them back.—On the 6th, 1500 Miquelets and 500 light troops which set out from Mamisa, attacked the post of Monblanch, upon the road of Lerida; the Commandant Année, at the head of 300 men, of the 14th regiment of the line, received them with such vigour, that they speedily regained their mountains. The enemy has attempted fresh sorties, and been repulsed into their entrenchments, with very great loss.—On the 8th General Rognéat marked out a grand redoubt upon the banks of the sea; this work during the night was tranquil; at day-light an English 74, a cut down vessel, several corvettes, and an immensity of armed vessels, came down to disturb our workmen, by more than 1500 shot, which did no damage; the workmen were covered during the day.—On the 10th, Campo Verde re-entered the port of Tarragona, escorted by an English vessel, with the weak wrecks of his army defeated under Figueras.—In the night between the 13th, and 14th, the General in Chief caused two of the enemy's entrenchments, situated 150 toises in advance of Fort Olivia to be carried by 800 horsemen. These brave fellows threw themselves into the entrenchments without firing a single shot; the enemy had more than 50 men killed.—At break of day three columns from Olivia attempted to retake these works; they were driven back upon the fort, and almost entirely destroyed.—The English fleet, during this time, fired more than

3,000 shot upon our works, but without success.—The Garrison of Tarragona made a sortie with 6000 men, upon two battalions of the 116th regiment, established 90 toises distance from Francoli; the battle was very lively and obstinate; the chosen companies of the 5th Light Infantry having arrived, the enemy was charged with impetuosity, and put in complete route; our people pursued them to the very glacis of the fortress, which, as well as the fleet, opened a most dreadful fire; the Spaniards left upon the field of battle 300 killed—they had upwards of 600 wounded.—On our side we had 100 killed and wounded.—On the 20th at night a fresh sortie from Fort Olivia, endeavoured to destroy our approaches, 800 Spaniards, with four pieces of artillery, at the same time attacked the redoubt to the left of Loreto, defended by two Italian companies. The enemy was every where overthrown; we took an howitzer from him.—On the 21st Sarsfield, at the head of all the Miquelets which he was able to unite from the different points of Catalonia, came to disturb our communication with Olivia; General Bausart, with a battalion and 250 horse, marched against him and drove him from all his positions, killing an hundred men.—On the 23d the post of Monblanch was again attacked by the whole of the Miquelets and Somatenes united; the brave Commandant Année received them with his accustomed bravery.—On the twenty-fifth General Frere, with five battalions and 400 horse, totally dispersed these bands. During this time, our attacking works were briskly advanced, notwithstanding the fire of the enemy. Two new batteries from the sea coast were on the 22d mounted, and obliged the English to keep beyond the range of their fire. The batteries are connected with the bridge of Francoli, by a communication of 600 toises.—We have begun before Fort Olivia, upon the rock, a parallel 50 toises from the entrenchments taken from the enemy. It is requisite to use gabions, and bring the earth half a league.—On the 23d we opened a battery *en breche*, at 60 toises distance from the fort.—On the 24th, 25th, and

26th, for the siege on the right, the declivities of the Francoli have been surrounded, and we established a wooden bridge upon the river.—On the 27th, in order to attack on the left, the battery *en breche* before Fort Olivia was armed with four 24-pounders, and received the name of the Battery of the King of Rome; three other batteries were at the same time mounted. The hardness of the ground presented the greatest obstacles; 200 soldiers impatient to see our cannon answer that of the enemy, fastened themselves to the guns, and dragged them to the batteries under the fire of the enemy, who made at the same instant, a sortie to oppose the arming of these batteries.—General Salme, at the head of the 7th regiment of the line, marched rapidly upon the Spaniards, but at the very moment in which he was encouraging his troops, exclaiming—*brave 7th forward*, he was killed by a ball; the enemy paid dear for this misfortune; our brave troops threw themselves upon them, and caused a dreadful carnage even under the walls of the fortress.—On the 28th, the batteries were unmasked, and in spite of the brisk fire of Olivia and that of the fortress, our superiority was quickly decided—in the evening the fire of Olivia was partly silenced.

Report from Count Suchet, Commander in Chief of the Army of Arragon, to his Serene Highness Prince of Neufchatel, Major General.

Monseigneur—Your Highness will have seen in my last report that, previous to the conclusion of the 28th day of May, the battery *en breche*, called after the King of Rome, seconded by the three other batteries, had succeeded in silencing the fire of Fort Olivia; the cavalier, the parapets, the batteries of the angle, which is that part of the work least flanked were destroyed; notwithstanding this advantage, obtained in so short a time, I determined not immediately to order an assault, I changed the direction of many guns to silence some cannon which remained to the enemy in that part of the work to our right.

(To be continued.)

END OF VOL. XIX.

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